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MAX WOLFF

Issue Editor

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INTRODUCTION

Political scientists, sociologists and psychologists are again making the community the focus of many of their research projects. Citizens in smaller communities are not in need of an explanation about what their community is. But how about people in New York, Philadelphia, and other vast areas of dense population? Quite often community actions are started with attempts to discover of what the community consists.

Many years of experience of this issue's editor in helping communities and community groups approach unmet needs has taught him the value of the university for the community and also the value of the community as a social laboratory for the university. He therefore suggested to Irwin Shannon, and participated in the writing of the article "The Community of New York and Its Universities". Population movements and changes are often dangerous for peaceful co-living of all groups in the community. Joseph Monserrat wrote toward this point in his article "Some Data on Population Trends in New York City". Is the school limited to its specific function as an institution of learning or must it find its place in the broader conception of community life? The article "The School in Community Improvement Programs" tries to explain the role of the school in the broader community. Research is hindered by shortages in manpower and finances. Can the lay person and lay persons' organizations become partners in research work? Pearl Farmer Richardson responds to that question in her article "We the People—Community Fact Finders". Outside forces and outside needs ask for community help and therefore weaken the community. The problem is described in Burt W. Aginsky's article "The Fragmentation of the American Community". The Institute of Adult Education, Teachers College, Columbia University is interested in the process applied in the development of cooperative community improvement programs. A study of the compiled case histories in the Institute begins to tell an interesting story; part of it is written up in "About the Process of Cooperative Community Improvement Activities".

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THE COMMUNITY OF NEW YORK AND ITS UNIVERSITIES: A SUGGESTION FOR MORE EFFECTIVE COOPERATION

Irwin V. Shannon and Max Wolff

There has been a growing recognition in recent years of the interdependence of the university and the community. This has been reflected in the substantial attempts made by universities to establish cooperative relationships in one form or another with their communities. In many instances it has been the community which has taken the initiative in seeking to develop relationships which would make the resources and assistance of universities available to it. The resurgence of civic activity in the past ten years has multiplied community needs and requests for assistance from universities and has furnished greatly expanded opportunities to the universities for undertaking cooperative efforts with communities.

INTERDEPENDENCE OF COMMUNITY AND UNIVERSITY

It is not possible for universities today to hold themselves aloof from the community context in which they are rooted. Universities in both urban and rural settings are inseparably intertwined with the community. They are encroached upon by the community in a hundred different ways, particularly in a community as highly urbanized as New York. The community neither begins nor ends at the gates of the university; it seeps through the gates and into the doors of its academic halls. There is one institution, for example, in New York City which is surrounded by a diversified and greatly disorganized neighborhood. Students, faculty, employees of the university, and residents alike experience the daily impact of the tensions and maladjustments of such a neighborhood. No bulwarks either psychological or physical can be erected which will successfully keep the community out. The students as well as the neighborhood residents are pressed upon and depressed by the existing conditions which they cannot avoid experiencing every day. Without minimizing the extreme importance of theoretical knowledge of the causes and consequences of such a community situation, it is not sufficient most of the time to prevent social and personal frustration leading to general apathy, so dangerous for the democratic process. Knowledge of the applicability of learned skills or techniques acquired by direct participation in employing them in this kind of community context should prove to be the surest means to counteract this apathy.

Most students will live briefly in the university-community situation. But all of them will have to relate themselves to some future community, as adult citizens and as persons with a particular professional role and function. The institution, cited above for purposes of illustration, and all institutions of higher learning are faced with a special responsibility to both students and the community of which the university is a part. How can the university, in the first place, sponsor the kind of directed community experience which will provide students with the needed understanding and skills to relate themselves effectively to their present community situation and at the same time will enable them to integrate this experience into their personal make-up so that it will be most serviceable to them in their future community relationships? How can the university develop a plan to bring its great resources and facilities for research, training, and consultation to impinge with maximum impact on its community-neighborhood setting? What are the specific forms of assistance or services which the university can offer to help community leaders, rank and file citizens in civic organizations, and individuals in community-related professions equip themselves with basic technical information on a variety of community problems and also with the skills, techniques, and strategies required for effective community action?

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS:

OPPORTUNITIES FOR COMMUNITY-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION

This two-fold responsibility of universities — to their student bodies and to their communities — may be viewed in various perspectives. One of these is in terms of the variety and range of community-centered problems which, if they are to be attacked with the promise of successful results, point to the need for acquiring certain information and skills or to the provision for some type of university service in cooperation with community groups. Only a few illustrations of these problems can be given here. A neighborhood in New York, with a nearby university, is confronted with serious crime problems: the daily occurrence of hoodlumism, "muggings", vandalism, attacks upon women in the subway and streets, hold-ups of business establishments. How can this neighborhood obtain adequate police protection in relation to the competing claims and demands of other New York City neighborhood which are plagued with similar problems? What techniques and strategies would be helpful to organized groups in this neighborhood in their efforts to gain the cooperation of responsible city agencies?

sponsible group of citizens, including representatives of social and

A community on the outskirts of New York City is threatened with the possibility of having its existing housing pattern seriously disturbed by the construction of a thruway. Responsible groups in the community would like to have assistance in making a study and assessment of the potential impact of this development, together with specific recommendations for constructive action to be taken by the community. The non-participation of local residents in political life and government has aroused the serious concern of a community council located in an upper middle class neighborhood in New York. This council has drawn up tentative plans for a study of factors responsible for this non-participation, and is particularly interested in developing a long-range follow up program to attempt to change the present situation. A request has been made of one of the universities in New York for consultant help in planning the overall research design for this study and for assistance by a group of graduate students, working with citizen volunteers in the neighborhood, to conduct the study.

The substantive content and technical knowledge of many different fields—medicine, engineering, architecture, law, public health—in addition to community organization skills must be drawn upon by the community or its organized groups in efforts to cope successfully with problems of physical design and planning, the development of new facilities and services, or the reorganization of existing ones, and many others. One well-to-do neighborhood conceived the idea of developing a community campus at its center, as a World War II Memorial. Through the initiative of the community council in this neighborhood the cooperation of the Department of Fine Arts of a leading New York university was obtained for this project. A group of advanced students in architecture, working under faculty supervision, over an extended period developed a master plan and design for the project. A professor of engineering in another institution each year takes a group of students to a community near New York where they spend several weeks in a first hand study of community engineering problems and have opportunities to see how public and private agencies concerned with these problems actually function in relation to them. The crucial issue in a newly developed suburban community which has undergone rapid growth in a brief period centers around the number of fire fighting stations that are needed in the community and where these should be located to be most serviceable. The need for a public health center has emerged in another community. A re-

health agencies, would like to obtain information on such questions as recognized and acceptable standards for health centers, the possibilities of securing state and federal support, and the best procedures to follow in organizing the community to assure the establishment of the health center. In another situation, a New York College of Education invited a group of superintendents of schools to participate in a work-conference dealing with the role of the school and the school administrator in the broader community life. The discussion focussed on effective methods of relating the school and the community to each other.

A catastrophic fire in an illegal firetrap in a congested neighborhood in New York resulted in the death of seven persons. This led to the request from the neighborhood council to one of the universities in the city for the assistance of a group of graduate students to conduct a survey of housing firetraps in the neighborhood in order to obtain the information needed to plan a follow-up program to secure enforcement of existing regulations by responsible municipal agencies. A parents' association in a lower Manhattan neighborhood has indicated its need for help from a university in conducting a census of the child population as a basis for determining and projecting long range plans for the construction of new school facilities. Tensions between groups already existing in a Manhattan neighborhood have been intensified and cleavages have been widened because of the announcement of projected plans for housing and redevelopment projects without thoroughly involving all neighborhood groups in the planning process. The issue at this stage is what steps can be taken by responsible citizens' organizations in the neighborhood to deal effectively with this situation which has already created, and is continuing to create, so much disunity? On a much wider scale, a citizens' organization concerned with efforts to promote the social and economic rehabilitation of the total Harlem community has turned to one of the universities for help in designing and conducting, with student assistance, pilot neighborhood projects which will recreate good living conditions.

VALUES OF COOPERATION

(A) For the University

Universities which embark upon a program of community cooperation are brought into the main stream of community life in a working partnership with community people, groups, institutions, and agencies seeking to solve community problems and issues. The vast resources of the community as a social and educational labora-

tory are made available to the university to further the general education of all students, and the pre-professional and professional training of others in many different fields. Opportunities are provided to develop closer ties and cooperative efforts among various disciplines in undertaking research, teaching, and consultation which are community-centered. In taking advantage of the many opportunities to guide the course of community action and development various possibilities are afforded for the application of research knowledge and competencies in many disciplines, especially in the social sciences. The liaison established between the university and the community opens up new channels of intercommunication which should enable the university to become more sensitized to community needs and to be in a position to respond to these needs. Most vital of all, the university is placed in a strategic position to contribute significantly to the strengthening of democratic processes in American community life.

New groups and individuals, hitherto outside the orbit of the university are likely to be attracted to its varied educational offerings as a result of the extension of its extra-mural services in a cooperative community program. The university will thereby gain an entirely new clientele which will be especially attracted to its adult education program. Finally, in terms of public relations there is no doubt that the close ties developed between the university and the community through cooperative efforts will enhance greatly the status and prestige of the university.

(B) For the Community

As already indicated in the enumeration of examples of community problems and needs, universities are equipped to give advice and other forms of help in substantive fields as well as methods to groups, organizations, institutions, and agencies in the community. The functioning of many groups and organizations in the community can be strengthened through training in the various fields of knowledge offered by the university. Consultation by members of university staffs, in many different fields, will help community groups more effectively to define their goals, and to plan and conduct programs realistically geared to the attainment of these goals. The values to the community from cooperative relationships with a university are not limited to research and consultation. A program of training for students in the community will furnish a large reservoir of manpower which can be drawn upon to augment and reenforce the time and services given by both professional workers and busy citizen

volunteers. The community will benefit by having a growing number of college and university trained people who, as students, have had the kind of community education which will enable them to function effectively in their roles and responsibilities as citizens. The community will in addition be beneficiary of the services of persons in various community-related professions who have had the advantage of university training in skills which are highly useful to them in terms of their community obligations.

PROPOSAL OF A WORK-CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY-UNIVERSITY COOPERATION

How can the reciprocal values of community-university cooperation be most effectively implemented? From the point of view of the community: How can the source or sources for consultation and other forms of help be identified and located within various universities in New York City and how can information about the availability of such help to meet specific needs be obtained? From the point of view of the university: How can adequate knowledge be developed about activities and needs in the community, considered as a social and educational laboratory, in terms of university educational and training objectives? From the point of view of the total community: What scheme of organization will make it possible to obtain comprehensive information about past, present, and planned community-university research and other activities in order to insure the maximum economy of efforts on a city-wide basis, to profit from past experience, and to foster highly cooperative efforts among all universities and community agencies?

To help in finding the answers to these, and other questions centered on community-university cooperation, it is proposed that a city-wide conference of representatives of universities, social agencies, and voluntary citizens organizations should be held in New York City in the near future to consider and develop plans for effective cooperation of the New York community and its universities. In addition to providing an important medium for intercommunication between community groups and the many universities in the New York area—an accomplishment that would be intrinsically desirable—such a conference perhaps for the first time in the history of New York City would make it possible for representatives of social agencies, community and neighborhood councils, and other organized community or neighborhood groups in face-to-face contacts with university administrators and faculty members to outline their needs and to indicate the specific types of assistance they would like to

receive from universities in New York. University representatives would have unusual opportunities in such a conference not only to hear a first-hand account from community groups on their needs on which university assistance is desired, but also to indicate what facilities and resources are presently available from the universities and what specific plans are being developed by various institutions to extend the area of university cooperation with the community. In addition, the conference will doubtless want to include in its agenda an inventory and review of what New York universities are now attempting to do in the community field, together with noteworthy examples of university-community cooperation outside of New York. But most vital of all, the conference will want to address itself to the consideration of practical plans and steps which might be undertaken to expand, and to contribute to more effective cooperation between the community and universities in New York City.

A COMMUNITY RESEARCH CLEARING HOUSE AND INFORMATION BUREAU: A SUGGESTION TO THE CONFERENCE

One specific plan which may help to facilitate and extend effective cooperation between the community of New York and its universities is outlined and offered here for consideration at the proposed conference of university and community representatives. Only the principal features of this plan, enough to suggest in broad outline its scope, are presented; the details would necessarily have to be developed in the conference suggested above. This plan explicitly excludes any attempt by one university, or several institutions cooperating in the plan, to undertake functions now being performed by qualified agencies in the community. With respect to the training program included in this plan it should be emphasized that there is no intention to modify or replace the specialized training for community workers or for persons going into community-related professions now offered by various institutions in New York. An overall aim of this plan is to develop arrangements under which university staffs would consult and cooperate with citizens organizations, institutions, and social agencies in their attempts to solve their problems. The plan would, therefore, have to be carried out in such a manner that the initiative and participation of citizens in community affairs would be encouraged and strengthened — not supplanted or weakened in any way.

The main features of this plan are as follows:

Community Research and Surveys. The establishment of a Community Research Clearing House and Information Bureau,

through inter-university cooperation, is suggested as a necessary piece of machinery to implement the several functions which will expedite university and community cooperation. One of the important activities of the Clearing House will entail the collecting, collating, and organizing of basic research data on the community. The Clearing House would thus operate as a central depository and library for all significant published or unpublished materials, past and current, on the community. University departments and community agencies, as well as state-wide voluntary and public agencies or institutions, would be able to turn to the Clearing House for information on specific aspects of community life in which they are currently interested, as a basis for projecting new research studies or for program planning. The Clearing House would maintain an up-to-date inventory of current and projected research pertaining to the community so that any inquiries from individuals, institutions, or organizations planning to undertake research on specific problems can be satisfactorily answered.

Another aim of the Clearing House is to enlist the widest possible interest and collaboration within the university, or universities, in research which would be focused on the community. It would seek particularly to encourage a cooperative approach to community research problems by the various social sciences and other disciplines. The Clearing House might take the initiative in proposing research studies and projects, which have grown out of its relationship with community groups, to various departments or divisions within the university, or to various institutions in the city. It would provide assistance in the planning and organizing of such studies where help would be desired or requested. Requests from community agencies and organizations for assistance on specific research problems or projects would be received by the Clearing House which, in turn, would help the community groups to have these requests fulfilled by appropriate research personnel in the various universities in the community. One of the very important responsibilities of the Clearing House is to serve as a center for referring community groups to specific sources within various universities in New York City where help can be obtained in finding the right person or persons who can give the desired information or advice.

The Clearing House should be so organized and administered that its activities would not encroach upon or supplant functions already being efficiently performed by other units within the university or universities in the community. The sole purpose of its existence and activities would be to enable the university to undertake wider

and more effective forms of cooperation with the community. An advisory board or committee comprised of representatives of the varied interests within the university and the community would be needed to give general advice and guidance in planning the work of the Clearing House.

Community Training. In making provisions for training in community skills the university's first obligation is to its students. This responsibility can be met through a program of directed community field work which is developed and conducted in cooperation with various community agencies and organizations. The field work experience would be integrated with seminars and courses dealing with community research and theory, and community organization. This type of training would not be limited to the relatively small number of students who enroll in a specifically designed field work course. Nor is it desirable from the educational point of view to restrict it to students who are majoring in such fields as sociology, psychology, political science, education. Community education is valuable to all students regardless of the particular professional fields in which they are specializing. It would, therefore, be highly desirable to develop a community training program which would make it possible for every university student to gain this experience at some time during his undergraduate or graduate training, and preferably on both levels wherever this is possible. In terms of the benefits to students themselves and to the community it would be especially valuable to organize the field work program so that students drawn from various disciplines and subject matter fields could work together as teams on community projects. Opportunities would thus be provided for actual experience in inter-professional cooperation in community enterprises as a part of pre-professional or professional education in many fields. The results of this are certain to be beneficial to students themselves and to the communities to which they will relate themselves in the future.

A wide range of training programs in community leadership and skills can be developed through university efforts in collaboration with schools, churches, welfare agencies, industry, citizens' councils, labor unions, and other community organizations and institutions. Training activities could be conducted both on the campus and in other places in the community. They would be organized and conducted cooperatively by various faculty members, departments, and universities, and in some instances by personnel outside the university. Universities can make a further contribution to the community by furnishing the facilities, resources, and leadership for two other

types of community training: (1) Training programs designed to supplement and broaden the skills and competencies of those who already have a professional but specialized role and function in relation to the community: school and university teachers, ministers, social agency staff members, librarians, and others; (2) Training on the graduate level for persons who wish to become professional community counselors.

Community Consultation. The Clearing House, in addition to its other activities, would undertake the function of making advisory and consultant services available from the university to community groups. These services would be furnished only on specific request of a community group or organization, and would be offered in such a manner as to encourage and reenforce participation and initiative of persons in these groups or organizations. As in the case of research activities, the Clearing House would refer all requests for consultant help to individuals on university staffs who can provide the desired service. In some instances, teams of specialists (engineering, medicine, city planning, community organization) might be organized from within one university or several universities to work as consultants in specific situations where this seemed to be desirable.

There are various state-wide and city-wide agencies, public and private, which provide specialized services in one phase or another of community life. A close working relationship would need to be maintained between the Clearing House and these agencies so that community groups will be referred to the resources and services of the specialized personnel available from the agencies.

It is hoped that plans for the work-conference on community and university cooperation will be drawn soon. The problems with which it intends to deal are specific to New York, but fundamentally not too different from comparable situations in other metropolitan areas. The results of the conference should therefore be of importance for the development of more integrated community-university relations in metropolitan centers everywhere.

Irwin V. Shannon for several years director of community training in the Department of Sociology, Ohio University, has been supervising a community field work training program during the past year for the Center for Human Relations Studies, New York University, School of Education.

Max Wolff, Research Associate and Community Consultant with the Institute of Adult Education, Teachers College, Columbia University is in charge of its Community Action Study. Dr. Wolff is a consultant on community and research to the Center for Human Relations study at New York University, and a lecturer at Brooklyn College and New York University.

SOME DATA ON POPULATION TRENDS IN NEW YORK CITY, "MUST" INFORMATION FOR ITS CITIZENS

Joseph Monserrat

In a democracy every citizen should be civically employed. Full civic employment is not the responsibility of government but of each individual citizen. The success or failure of the democratic process depends upon the extent of effective citizen participation in the affairs of the community on local, state, national and even international levels. Since participation can only be effective when the resulting action is based on accurate and reliable information, securing and making this type of information available becomes a responsibility of adult education. The gathering, interpreting and applying of facts in a given community problem is indeed a process in adult education.

In this respect the recent changes in population patterns throughout the country, as evidenced by the preliminary returns of the 1950 census, and their important bearing on such community problems as housing, schools, employment, race relations, property evaluations and the like, are subjects which should be the concern of all interested in adult education.

Thus, for example, thoughtful New Yorkers in all walks of life are becoming increasingly interested in the population trends of New York City. Housing shortages, hospital shortages, parking problems, increase in the costs of all municipal departments resulting in a record-breaking budget and an extremely high tax burden are some of the reasons behind this increasing interest in the demography of New York City.

The existing popular impression regarding New York City's population can be summed up as follows: "More and more people keep coming, making the city bigger and bigger." Facts, however, indicate this prevailing impression of an ever-growing city due to immigration is not the true picture of population mobility in New York City. Any community action planned and based on this assumption would be hitting at superficialities and not striking at the roots of the various problems.

A brief review of the population figures for the city during the thirty year period ending in 1950 might best illustrate this point.

According to the 1930 census, the total population of New York City during the decade between 1920 and 1930 increased by 1,310,400 persons. Of these, 753,000 were in-migrants. The remaining growth of 556,800 was the result of natural increase.

During the period between 1930 and 1940 the city's population increased by a total of 524,500 persons. This represented a drop of 40% from the 1920-30 increase. A breakdown of this figure indicates that 231,300 of this growth was due to in-migration and 293,200 of the total was due to natural increase. In passing it might be noted that the total population increase for the 1930-1940 period (524,500) was less than the expansion due to natural increase during the 1920-30 period (556,800).

The 1950 census indicates that New York City experienced the smallest population increase in over 60 years with a total growth for the decade of only 445,000 persons, and it was *entirely* due to natural increase. In fact, *143,630 more persons left the city than came in!*

Available data indicates that this downward trend in the increase of the city's population will continue through the next two decades with a total population increase of 390,000 in 1960 and 290,000 in 1970. Thus the total population for New York City in 1960 is estimated at 8,280,000 and 8,570,000 in 1970. It is to be noted however, that although this estimated population increase for New York City of 680,000 persons in the next twenty years is small in comparison to New York's growth in the past, this increase represents more people than presently live in the states of Delaware, Idaho, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, New Hampshire, Nevada, Vermont and Wyoming. And, keeping in mind the fact that most Americans live in areas with less than 25,000 inhabitants this estimated increase *alone* would add to New York City the population of a city the size of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, which is the twelfth largest city in the United States.

Despite the fact however, that New York has not had a population increase due to in-migration, many groups throughout the city interested in such matters as housing, hospital and school needs are intimating that the in-migration of such groups as Puerto Ricans, Negroes and displaced persons is the cause of the city's present difficulties in these matters.

It is obvious that any city, and especially one the size of New York, must have a program for expansion and growth, and for the replacing of depreciated facilities. The fact that New York, like most cities in the United States, did not and still does not have an adequate plan for expansion has resulted in the present state of extreme need despite the fact 143,630 more persons left the city than came into the city during the past decade.

An awareness and understanding of future population prospects is urgent and a must if intelligent forecasts are to be made in such

matters as planning the level of future capital requirements; planning major public works such as schools, hospitals, playgrounds and the like; determining necessary fiscal requirements for adequate operation of the city's services; helping to forecast future employment requirements; and to serve as a guide to zoning and land use.

The fact that New York today does not have a plan to meet the city's growing needs will result in a continued shortage of schools, housing, hospitals, and all of the city's services. The absence of adequate planning in the past is the reason for present lack of facilities. While a recognition of this fact will not immediately solve the present difficulties, intelligent planning *now* will prevent the continuation of these emergencies into the future. This fact was recognized in 1938 when the City Charter authorized the New York City Planning Commission to develop a Master Plan for the development of the city. Lack of sufficient funds and necessary personnel however, have made it impossible for the Commission to complete the plan. However, the planning commission has made some important demographic studies as a basis for the Master Plan. Many local planning boards and school boards are placing demographers or persons with knowledge of demographic techniques on their staffs.

This growing interest in demography is world wide in scope. It reached a high point when the United Nations established its demographic commission. The founding, some ten years ago, of the Population Association of America brought together as an independent discipline what in Italy was the interest of biologists, in England of eugenicists and in America of economists. Today, demography is being taught in a growing number of colleges and universities throughout the country. In addition to the demographic year book and a bulletin published by the United Nation's Commission, a growing number of scientific journals in the field are now being published.

This interest should make it easier for educators in the field of adult education to bring information of this kind to the attention of their students and to the attention of community groups. The civically employed in community projects must be supplied with the necessary factual information if they are to function effectively. Those responsible for adult education programs are remiss in their responsibilities if they do not provide it. Demographic information broken down so as to have the necessary special significance to each of the many organizations interested in the numerous and different aspects of community life would be of particular value.

Organizations working in the field of inter-group relations for example, would find the recent trends in the white and nonwhite

population of the country interesting and important. The 1950 census showed 150,697,000 persons as being the total population of the United States. Of these, 15,482,000 were recorded as nonwhite (96.2 percent or 14,894,000 were Negroes and the balance 588,000 were for the most part Japanese, Chinese and American Indians). The figures indicated further that nonwhite population during the decade ending in 1950 increased at a rate faster than did the white population. The rate of increase was 15.1 (2,000,000 persons) for the nonwhite, and 14.4 (17,000,000 persons) for the white. Not only is the nonwhite population growing at a faster rate than the white, it is also more mobile.

The importance of these facts becomes more apparent when we realize that the nonwhite population in such states as California and Michigan has more than doubled, and New York and Illinois have had an increase of more than 50 percent in their non-white population. The data further indicates a greater increase of nonwhites in almost all of our large metropolitan areas.

In New York City for instance the borough of the Bronx showed a total nonwhite population of 99,615 as compared with 24,392 in 1940 or a percentage increase of 308.4. Brooklyn had 213,068 nonwhites in 1950 as against 110,334 in 1940 or a total increase of 93.1%. Queens had 53,723 nonwhite persons in 1950 as against 26,903 persons in 1940 or an increase of 99.7%. Manhattan had a total of 403,502 nonwhite persons in 1950 as against 312,299 in 1940 or an increase of 29.2%. Richmond had a total of 5,621 nonwhite persons in 1950 as against 3,566 in 1940, for a total increase of 57.6%.

Housing conditions being what they are, more and more nonwhite families are buying their own homes. The fact that income for Negroes has increased at least three and a half times since 1940 (although generally still below the average income for whites) has been an important factor in this development. In this connection the need for making available to all community groups information from the growing literature on the effects of nonwhite purchases on land values is continuously growing greater. This literature and the case histories and studies upon which it is based is providing some factual data which is dispelling the "myth" that minority groups devalue property when they move into a "white" neighborhood.

This increase in the nonwhite population of New York City and of other metropolitan areas throughout the country is of tremendous importance. It is important because it is going to continue to increase and it is important because it can create racial tensions that could

explode into other Ciceros. On the other hand, a dynamic program on the part of schools, churches, community centers, inter-group organizations and other community groups, based on the foreknowledge that this trend will continue, can bring about greater understanding between different racial and ethnic groups, as, living closer together, they come to understand each other better and to recognize the fact that as human beings we are more alike than we are different.

Within New York City the tremendous flux of in and out migration during the past 20 years is of great importance to all groups. In Manhattan, a study done by the city planning commission shows that net in-migration amounted to under 25,000 persons for the 20-year period between 1930-1950 and has been a comparatively negligible factor since 1940. Brooklyn during the past 20 years has had more out-migration than in-migration. Since 1940 the net out-migration for this borough totalled 200,000 persons. Only the tremendous increase in the birthrate prevented a loss in population in that borough. The Bronx had a net in-migration of 51,400 to a net out-migration of 59,000. Queens had the greatest in-migration totalling 125,000 persons. However, the 1940-50 period was less than 1930-40 period. Richmond had a net in-migration of 2,000 persons.

Most suburban areas in and around New York showed an increase in net in-migration. As examples, Nassau County, Bergen county and Westchester county figures might be taken into account. Nassau County doubled its net in-migration, Bergen county tripled its net in-migration and in Westchester an increase of some 5,000 persons was registered. In nearby New Jersey such metropolitan areas as Hudson and Essex more people left than came in. However, all other metropolitan areas in New Jersey recorded increases in their population.

The migrants coming into New York City can be divided into four large groups.

The first group consists of the native white who comes from all over the country for various reasons, economic and personal. Very little data is available as to the numbers who fit into this category.

The second group is the Negroes, predominantly from the South, who are seeking better economic and social opportunities in the North. Data on this group is also very difficult to secure.

After the War a total of approximately 125,000 displaced persons came into the New York City area.

Since 1940 around 200,000 Puerto Ricans have come to New York City. Up to 1950, of those Puerto Ricans coming to the continent, approximately 90% remained in New York City. Recently, however, this figure has dropped to about 80%.

According to the New York City Planning Commission the estimates on the gross volume of migration were built up in the following manner:

The net out-migration of 135,000 represents the difference between the movement out of the City and the movement in. Adding the estimates of the movement into the City of the Puerto Ricans, (145,000) quota immigrants and displaced persons (125,000) we have a total of 270,000. While it is difficult to assess the extent of the general movement into the City from other parts of the country, it is quite likely that at least an additional 350,000 persons took up residence in the City. If this estimate is reasonably correct, then it means the minimum total of out-migration is over $\frac{3}{4}$ million persons, or about 10% of the City's 1940 population. These estimates of in-and-out-migration check fairly well with sample studies of national migration prepared by the Bureau of the Census. It therefore appears that about one of every ten persons living here in 1950 had moved here from outside since 1940. All of these estimates are purposely low in order to obtain a minimal figure.

The New York City out-migration is headed predominantly to Long Island. Queens, Nassau and Suffolk counties have received a total net in-migration of close to 400,000 persons. The building boom in these areas following the war is one reason for this large migration to the suburbs.

The further refinement of these population changes within New York City can provide community organizations, both lay and professional, with the pertinent information necessary for their effective functioning. For example, those groups working with the aged would find interesting and valuable the fact that of the total out-migration from New York City of 143,630 persons, 5,439 were 65 years of age or older and that 135,015 were in the age bracket between 45-64 years of age.

Groups interested in recreation and more and better schools would find the fact that 52,245 children in the age brackets from 0 to 4 years of age and 19,456 in the age brackets between 5 and 14 years of age were among those who left the city.

Those interested in maintaining New York's position as a great industrial and commercial center are concerned with the availability of an adequate labor force. An adequate labor force includes not only the skilled worker but a supply of unskilled labor that is ready

to do the many service and "behind the scene" jobs so very necessary in the operation of a modern industrial center. In this respect employment agencies, Chambers of Commerce, business associations and other commercial groups in the New York area would find of value the fact that 66,029 persons in the 25 to 34 age bracket migrated into the city. This age group, together with the 42,780 young persons between 15 and 24 years of age that also migrated to the city, guarantee to industry a labor pool at its most productive age level. In this respect, it should be noted that New York City has never been able to supply from its "native" population sufficient labor to meet its needs.

Years ago, the immigration from Europe provided the city's needed man power, today it is such groups as the incoming Puerto Ricans, Negroes and other migrants to this city that help it keep its industrial leadership, for not only are these the workers who take up the less attractive but urgently needed jobs, but this group is also at the most productive age level. The median age of the Puerto Ricans in New York for example was found to be 24.2 years of age in 1948.

For the most part, business and government groups have research staffs continuously gathering information pertinent to their effective functioning for they know this is "good business". Community groups too recognize the importance of facts, however, too often they depend upon education committees who frequently turn to inadequate newspaper stories as their source of information.

It is up to Adult Education to function as the source center for the community groups. An effective, responsible civicly employed community is a must if we are to preserve our democratic way of life. This need for active community participation has recently been recognized by many other countries. Throughout the world experiments such as the Mexican cultural mission program, the work of the Division of Community Education of the Department of Education, and other similar projects in India, Africa and other countries are being looked to as the hope of the future. Helping to provide full civic employment and recognizing that this is a basic factor in democratic living is the challenge confronting those of us in Adult Education today.

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THE SCHOOL IN COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS

Max Wolff

It is the dynamic of a democratic community that every institution like every citizen, while playing a specific role is at the same time a responsible participant in all aspects of community life in which it can function. Acceptance as a participant corresponds to the obligation of functioning effectively. The radius, method and goal of participation of every institution must be clearly defined and redefined whenever functional changes occur. Generalized principles and experiences in other communities must be translated into the specific reality of the community which intends to make use of them. A very detailed knowledge of the specificity of one's own community is essential for this translation.

Community presupposes that its citizens are bound together by a strong will of identification with the community based on the feeling of belongingness to it. The improvement of physical conditions of the community is of great importance; however, the process applied in the attempt to attain the goal of physical improvement can be as important as the attainment of the goal, or even supercede it, when the process is in itself a means of developing a higher degree of identification. The cooperative approach based on wide citizen participation can be such a process. Human ambition can be guided into cooperation when the educational value of cooperation is understood. Competition with (while not against) each other can play its role: everyone will strive to find a place of greatest effectiveness, in a common effort. Communal institutions and agencies are in positions comparable to the one of the citizens: they need to define their potential role in the community and find their place in the program of activities. The cooperative approach climaxes in the planning of work with, more than for, the community.

The public school in its unique position as the center of primary learning, offers physical facilities and human abilities which must be visualized in the complexity of community life in order to recognize the school's functional obligations to and its value for the community. The school authorities, and especially the superintendent of schools, must be guided by this vision to enable the school to live up to its general as well as its specific responsibilities as a participant in community life.

The many factors which determine the character of a community determine also the kind of partnership the school may accept in

community life. The social stratification of the community is an important one. Dependency of the school on any specific group or groups limits its sphere of free participation. In a one-group-controlled community, i.e., this group will at least try to decide the role of the school: either to limit it to its specific purpose as an institution of learning or to direct its participation in community affairs so as to be in line with the ideas and interests of this group. In a community where two or more antagonistic forces try to keep or gain control, each one of these groups may attempt to use the school for its specific purposes and goals: either in suggesting non-participation or participation in a direction favorable to the group or groups. By evading special group influence the school might gain a mediatory position, giving the superintendent a unique and extremely important social role in the community, beyond his professional position: *the* social mediator.

In none of these circumstances does the school function as a participating free agency. Indeed the school might initiate or participate in community improvement activities which do not find support by all forces in the community; some groups might be very outspokenly opposed. For example, in an effort of community organization for the development of a playground; the school's special role in such a situation might be to produce and make known evidence of the need for a playground. This evidence might change the minds of citizens previously opposed. The decision to participate must be the result of responsible consideration by the school authorities of how to serve best the community as a whole, not of undue pressure exerted by special interest groups. Indeed, there might be circumstances suggesting the superintendent of schools as the mediator in an effort to prevail social peace in the community or to solve a special tension situation. However, to function generally as *the* social mediator in the affairs of the community means that the school is put on a high pedestal elevated above all other agencies and eliminated as a potential free participant.

There are many indications that in smaller communities of more homogeneous character, where all citizens are welcomed as partners, recognized as belonging to the community, and having the feeling of identification with it, the school finds its place more easily in the symphony of forces active in the community. Research on the interdependency of the social stratification of the community and the role of the school is in the planning stage. Another research project is a study on professional and personal qualifications essential for the superintendent of schools to manage effectively the

school as the institution of learning and direct it as a responsible participant in the broader life of the community.

The public school is a community institution; this institution is its primary center of learning. What are the services to be rendered to the community by institutions of these general and specific qualifications. It is widely recognized that the physical facilities of the school should be available to the community, of course without interfering with the specific purposes of the school. New school buildings and other school facilities are planned with regard to broader community use. This article can therefore be limited to the participation of the school based on the functional position of the school in community life and the human abilities to be found in the school.

The school is open to everyone who wants to make use of its educational facilities, especially to every child, fundamentally without regard to social, racial, religious or ethnic group relations. The potentiality of influence which the school is able to exert is wider than that of any other institution or agency in the community because the school is able to speak and act through:

- the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools
- the Faculty
- the children who attend school
- the parents whose children attend school
(especially also the members of the P.T.A.), and
- the adults who attend courses.

These inlets into the community serve most helpfully also as thermometers for its mood with regard to the school as an institution of learning as well as a partner in community life, and as a participant in any specific community program or activity.

A careful analysis of the reaction of the community to a planned community program and to the school's participation in it, must precede the decision by the school authorities whether and in what way the school should take part. It might be necessary first to overcome the citizens' apathy against their own participation in public affairs. The community might be opposed to the school in any other role than that of an institution of learning. An educational campaign to explain the value of the school as a participant in community programs might be necessary to assure the citizens of good school-community relations. The school must always carefully study the motivation and the goal of a suggested program and must know who initiated the idea and who is expected to take

part. The school must never permit being used by special interest groups.

The community is the frame within which the school functions. It is a natural laboratory for the study of social issues of all kinds, but especially for finding answers to such questions as "What is community," and "What are the individual's relations to it," "What are its assets and what its main problems," "What approaches to these problems should be considered, how to pick out the one best fitting into a specific situation and with a good chance of positive results".

HOW DOES THE SCHOOL FIT INTO THE PROGRAM OF COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT?

I THE SCHOOL AS AN INSTITUTION OF LEARNING

- A. With regard to youngsters. In making use of the community as a social laboratory the interest of young people will be challenged; they will want to know their community and participate in betterment programs. Their early experience of participation might prevent them from falling prey to the general citizens' apathy. Active interest by youth will help the adult community in learning how to accept and evaluate young people as responsible participants.
- B. With regard to adults. Adult education should concentrate on issues understood and recognized as important by the people to be reached. In consequence the sphere of understanding and thereby the radius of adult education will be broadened. "The Character of Our Community" or specific aspects or issues of community living could be the topic for a course preparing for effective citizenship. Adults will learn what the issues are, how they can be approached, and what they as citizens can do about them.

II THE SCHOOL AS AN INSTITUTION OF INFORMATION AND STUDY

Avenue of Communications. Children, parents, and adult students bring the school into daily contact with the majority of family units and about every organization in the community. The school becomes, thereby, an essential avenue of communications.

Manpower Rostrum. Because of this constant and intimate contact with the community, the school is especially equipped to participate and give leadership in the preparation of a local manpower rostrum, containing information about professional and other qualifications represented in the community.

III MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY AS POTENTIAL COMMUNITY CONSULTANTS

Community Consultants. The professional training of teachers should qualify many of them as experts and consultants in varying aspects of community living. The superintendent of schools and the teachers, with local residents, can therefore function as participating consultants in community development programs.

In a democratic society the expert must accept the additional obligation of translating his special knowledge and experience into the language of the people asking for his advice. Decisions should be taken by the people concerned, based on their understanding of the issue and the action suggested, not on the basis of faith in the expert. It might endanger the effectiveness of the staff in the affairs of the school if they do more than their share of participation. It might well be, for example, that the superintendent, especially in the small community, is qualified to function as an advisor to the mayor of the town and the community council in questions of community management, but it would be a doubtful practice if his job is broadened to engulf management of the school and community as well.

IV THE SCHOOL AS A PARTICIPANT IN COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT ACTIVITIES

The decision of the school as an institution, the superintendent of schools, and very often individual teachers, to support and participate in a community program is of great prestige value for the program. The school can function as initiator or/and as sponsor or/and as one of many participants. Whether the goal of the program is school-related (i.e., playground for children) or not (better garbage disposal system), the use of the communicative potentials of the school can be of great service to the program. Whether the goal of the project is to study community conditions or attitudes or to bring about certain changes in the community, it will always be necessary to create the instruments needed to accomplish the job. A plan for action has to be worked out; it must deal with all the known factors of importance for effective action. But there must also be some consideration of being ready for happenings unforeseen.

The educational preparation of the superintendent of schools and the teachers should enable them to apply their specialized knowledge and experiences to community development programs and to transmit these special faculties to the people of the community to be of

help to them in their efforts to fulfill their citizenship obligations and to improve the conditions of the community.

Some members of the faculty might be especially qualified to advise:

- on the preparation of the instruments needed for the planned program and on the outline of the action plan;

- on the very complicated problem of where to get consultative help in matters of action goal or action process.

The school is able to offer leadership, but especially also to help in the discovery of local leadership.

Everything within the sphere of the community is within the sphere of the school. The school is concerned with every happening and every condition in the community. The school staff, from the superintendent of schools down, can perform their duties satisfactorily only when aware of broad community responsibility, which is an unwritten part of the hiring contract.

WE THE PEOPLES—

COMMUNITY FACT FINDERS

Pearl Farmer Richardson

Through the ages the eternal quest of mankind has been a continuing search for ways and means of building a better world and thus improve the lot of the entire human race.

How and where to begin has perplexed each generation in turn. There have been great differences of thought and action but the goal has remained ever clear.

In this quest a new realization has come upon the people. This realization is that for most of us the beginning point of our endeavors for this better world we vision is in the local community where we live and love and laugh and play and work and build together with our friends and neighbors.

These communities developed through the years, often by generation after generation of the same families, present an intriguing challenge to our world of today. Long taken for granted and little appreciated for their real worth to the individual, a new importance is being attached to these communities and their contribution, not only to the individual but to peoples in general.

Many instances of this new realization could be sighted but one specific one which is attracting wide attention and promises to get to all sizes and types of communities, is a joint cooperative effort of the Institute of Adult Education, Teachers College, Columbia University in New York and the General Federation of Women's Clubs in a research project dealing with the process of cooperative community action.

The purpose of this joint effort is to try to learn how people in villages, towns and cities organize to make their communities better places in which to live. Where does the impetus come from in the beginning? What is the drive that carries it on? And how can all the people of any given community be challenged into active and continuing participation in a program of community improvement and development?

It is now just one year since faculty members of Teachers College and officers and chairmen of the General Federation of Women's Clubs held a breakfast conference to discuss the general plan. Here they agreed upon procedures and shortly afterwards initiated the program. All concerned realized full well that to be meaning-

ful research on communities anywhere would depend upon obtaining factual materials for the research. How could this be obtained?

At this time the General Federation of Women's Clubs was in the midst of their second annual "Build a Better Community" contest. Community leaders were atune to the research project and were most cooperative in giving short histories of how their community projects developed. More than twelve hundred clubs responded positively saying they would be willing to participate in a research project and function as fact finders.

This meant joint work of the Research Institute, removed from the actualities of community life and the local citizen actually participating in the many phases of community life must devise new and effective methods for research, analysis and warranted action if full benefit was to come from the many hours of effort expended in both the local community and the research center.

Then the question arose, could laymen serve as fact finders for a group of technically trained researchers without special training? If special training were required how could they be prepared for the task? Should they be given insight as to what to report on, or would they, the people who had developed these communities have a keener insight in their own communities than the theorists?

Diverse points of view are well taken. Some think that the lay person can be adequately prepared by carefully prepared correspondence. Others believe that the first reports should be given on a briefly outlined report sheet thus obtaining the lay persons point of view unhampered by too much instruction or too many suggestions.

Like persons no two communities are alike. Formulas and questionnaires might tend to stereotype reports. This writer insisted that first we have the "reports from the people" free from trying to fit into a technical survey plan or report. As one who had visited local communities in every section of the United States working closely with the people in devising ways and means of local participation in world affairs, I felt that experts would gain much by studying these reports coming directly to them from the local community and such a procedure would prove an excellent method of determining the real abilities and keenness of insight of the lay person as a fact finder. By this manner at least one of the questions would be answered and since this was a factual project from beginning to end those who might need to plan ways and means of training by far distant means and methods would have facts with which to begin their planning.

Believing that information like democracy operates best on a two way street many laymen are hoping that the experts will be willing to listen for at least a part of the time. A new way to study group dynamics might well be to take stock of what that powerful community force had accomplished even before it was given a name.

While the many community groups of varying interests and programs will be brought into over-all research the General Federation of Women's Clubs through its national, state-wide and local units, is well equipped to serve as a channel for communications for this project which could be ever expanding and most beneficial in bringing about even better cooperation, coordination and conciliation in community affairs as all phases of community life are brought into this research and action program where two qualified types of teams, teams of community builders and teams of research experts have joined resources.

A universal formula for any task and most fitting for community work is: think, study, act and achieve, with these ingredients in the proper proportion. In one community a generation grew up while the educational needs were being studied. Difference of opinion kept it in the thought stage and the children grew up improperly prepared for life. The more ambitious ones left in disgust and rarely ever return. Others remained there inadequately prepared to carry on their own community life.

Another equally bad situation, just different, school buildings were constructed without proper study and thought. This brought dissatisfaction and unpaid tax rolls. In a successful development all phases of community life must move along together. How to begin is always the question. But realizing it or not, most of us have begun long ago either by action or neglect of needed action. The question of the day is, did we begin in the right fashion or the wrong fashion and what do we do about our present situation?

A Community Council seems the answer to many of our problems. With a representative of every component part of the community and not dominated by any group or faction the Council is the needed clearing house. Recognizing in the beginning that the community belongs to all who live there it will steadily be improved or left to deteriorate. All communities move forward or backward. There is no standing still.

Local communities may well serve as laboratories where we discover, test and develop our skills and abilities and have an opportunity for cooperation on its highest level. This unparalleled opportu-

nity which is ours is so close to us, so much a part of our daily living that its unlimited possibilities are often overlooked or neglected.

Long have we known that cooperation is the keynote of success in any venture, community or otherwise, but what creates the will to cooperate has not yet been discovered.

HOW TO INVOLVE THE COMMUNITY AND HOW TO KEEP IT INVOLVED?

In this joint venture of The Institute of Adult Education, Teachers College, Columbia University and the General Federation of Women's Clubs the search is on for that unknown quality which creates and generates this will to cooperate, that influence which has often harmonized community differences in the past and will continue to be the basis of building better communities in the future. We The People, Community Fact Finders, if you please, mean to ferret it out and keep it constantly in service. Community cooperation is democracy in its purest form. Together we are searching out the facts. Together we intend to build better communities for a better tomorrow.

Pearl Farmer Richardson, the author of a widely read pamphlet "Your Community United Nations", is an official observer at the United Nations for the General Federation of Women's Club.

THE FRAGMENTATION OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY¹

Burt W. Aginsky

Summary Statement. Research has led to the hypothesis that, in the United States, organized and semi-organized groups, each with its own goals and interests, are becoming more numerous and more powerful. Each of these groups, through its members who are also members of the communities where they live and work, impinge with varying force upon communities, draining from them time, energy, and funds. The draining is augmented by those communities which limit, restrict, or negate the participation of their minority groups. Furthermore, the situation has been emphasized by the increase of mobility in the United States in late years. The net effect is the fragmenting of the American community.

The implementation of any plan of "Community Development and Adult Education", in order to be successful, must take cognizance of this situation in addition to other factors.

Historical Background of Hypothesis. During the early period of field research in "California Town" composed of American Indians, Italians*, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and "white Americans", it was found that, broadly speaking, the Indians became "Americanized" most rapidly during the period when there was the least amount of intimate and primary relationship with the whites in their own community.² During that time no Indian worked in town.

(1) Research was begun on this area in 1932. Field research was begun in 1934, was continued in 1935 and again in 1936. This was done in conjunction with the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University under the supervision of the Anthropology Department. The first joint social science research was begun in 1939 under supervision of the Social Science Field Laboratory (B. W. Aginsky and E. G. Aginsky, Directors) in conjunction with New York University Graduate School, and was continued in 1940 and again in 1941, when it was interrupted by the war. The field work was resumed in 1946. This was made possible by a grant from The Viking Fund. The Social Science Field Laboratory was reactivated in 1947 with the aid of an additional grant from The Viking Fund. The 1947 field research was done in conjunction with the Maxwell Graduate School of Syracuse University. It was continued during the summer of 1948. A total of thirty-two scientists representing the various social sciences have cooperated in this integrated study of a community. (Cf. Bibliography at the end of this article for further publications on this study by the author.)

Thanks are due especially to The Viking Fund, The Social Science Research Council, The Social Science Research Council of Columbia University, Syracuse University, and the private donors who have made the work possible.

*During the early period the Italians were considered as a group apart.

(2) Cf. 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, in bibliography at end of article.

Indians were restricted to the balcony of the movie-house, were served in only one restaurant — that owned by a Chinese — and were not served in the barber shops or beauty parlors. The Indians lived on "rancherias" (a Spanish term which can be translated to mean separate small reservation), distant from the town. They had just succeeded in abolishing the segregative school system for Indians and whites.

The apparent contradiction of most rapid acculturation during the period of least amount of contact stimulated further research. It was then found that during the summers there was a large influx of "white" harvesters who "camped" on the ranches where they were employed. The Indians also "camped" on those ranches in the summer. During this time there was intense and continuous contact in the daily work and the after-hours recreation amongst the "campers".

The Indians were treated by the harvesters as equals and in many cases as superiors, since they were generally more highly skilled and earned more money.

Recognizing that much of the change of the Indian was due to this contact situation rather than to community participation, the "way of life" of the harvester was studied, in order to understand the process of acculturation.

It was found that the harvester population was composed of individuals who, for the most part, travelled as families, followed an annual work cycle beginning in the spring in the southwest, coming up through California, then Oregon, Washington, and ending the season in Canada. After this they returned to the southwest for approximately a two-month period. They were subjected to the same working and living conditions, the same problems of mobility, health, sanitation, recreation, and education of their children. They had their own vocabulary and in fact their own way of life. The treatment afforded the harvester on the various ranches as well as in communities was well-known and discussed amongst themselves. This information was communicated rapidly throughout the harvester population. There were communities which, in order to harvest their crops, advertised in papers and paid bonuses as compared with other communities where a supply of the better workers arrived early.

In short, it was found that the harvester population could be considered a semi-organized aggregate of individuals participating in a way of life different from the various communities through which they passed. They could not be considered a "community" in the usual sense, especially because of their extension through space.

For want of a better term we shall use the term "lateral" to distinguish this type of grouping from the "community" which has a definite locus.

The treatment by the harvesters resulted in the Indians finding much that drew them toward greater participation with the harvesters and away from their locus community. They learned much about sanitation, work opportunities, recreation, dress, food, child care, and a variety of other matters.

It was during the summers that the Indians from an extensive area came together in this community. They constituted a lateralization of their own. They compared experiences and learned about the treatment of Indians in various communities in different parts of the state. This was another important factor regarding the acculturation of the Indian. Whenever possible, he travelled to other communities for the purchase of clothes, for tonsorial and cosmetic service, for recreation, and for other purposes, and chose those communities where he was treated with little or no discrimination.

Further research in California Town made clear that not only the harvesters and the Indians constituted lateralizations, but the Italians, the Chinese, the Filipinos, the Germans, and the other members of California Town with other national origins, also had affiliations which extended beyond the geo-political boundaries of the Community to many parts of the United States and also to their native lands. Each of these had all of the characteristics of a lateralization.

Generally speaking we found that each "component population", that is, lateralization, within the community had a sufficient number of ways of doing things, ideas, and material objects, identification with one another, and were sufficiently recognized by the rest of the community to be considered as a "component population". (We prefer the term "component population" to that of "minority" since there was no majority present.) However, individuals participated in the community in varying degrees upon the basis of their own personalities and experiences.

It also became clear that there were present additional lateralizations such as political, religious, occupational, transportational, the various regional, national, and international organizations, recreational, health, chain stores, educational, and fraternal organizations, each of which was headquartered at some distant place and each of which impinged upon the community through its members.

Many of the lateralizations had journals, periodicals, public relations offices, mutual aid facilities, conventions, and many activities

by means of which their lateralization was continued and made strong. The many lateralizations varied in structure, power, extensiveness, and other factors.

It was a rarity for an individual to claim more than California Town as his community, and it was the rare exception who did not belong to a plural number of lateralizations. That is, each individual member of the California Town community was a member of one community, but of plural lateralizations. Some of the most important lateralizations were occupation, religion, national origin, political party, and fraternal order. Each of these lateralizations was important to the individual in varying degree according to a number of factors. It was also found that the lateral affiliations were participated in not only emotionally, but that there was, in many cases, a greater degree of communication and participation laterally than there was amongst the members of the locus community. Marriages, monetary aid, interdependence, and a recognition of common goals, needs, desires, and history, were also present.

The letters from relatives in Italy, China, Germany, and Japan, the drives for funds by the various religious, political, and other organizations, the lack of discrimination in other communities, all added up to a drawing away from California Town of interest, time, energy, and money. It is also worthwhile mentioning that the various chain stores were, in effect, very much like absentee owners who drew money out of the community.

Newcomers to California Town, and there was a large number of them, participated initially in the occupation, fraternal order, religion, political party, and other institutions in which they had been participating in the community from which they had come. In fact, this was a continuity of participation in the same lateralizations and a means whereby their new contacts were made. Many of the newcomers arrived at the express invitation of and because of relatives and friends with the same ethnic, religious, or occupational background.

A large industry headquartered at a distant place located one of its operations in the community with the philosophy of not making a company town of it. This resulted in the community being faced with inadequate housing, increase in costs, increase in the various public utilities, schools, and the other components which go to make up the modern community. This also had its effect upon the total situation.

We could say that California Town contained a number of diverse populations and that within the community these were the component populations which made up the total population. But viewed from a

broader perspective, we could say that a plural number of lateralizations impinged upon California Town through the participation of the individuals involved.

Thus we might define the modern American community of California Town as being the nexus of plural lateralizations, the members of which were also members of the community, all under the semi-autonomous government of that local community government. That is, the governing of the inhabitants of a geo-political area and the participation of the members in the various institutions in the community were the cement which bound together the individuals affiliated with a variety of populations having extension in space beyond the limits, geographically, of the local community.

California Town also contained "the old-timers", individuals whose ancestors had been the original settlers and who controlled the community. It was recognized that they "stuck together", aided one another, and "ran the town". "What this town needs is a dozen important funerals", was a statement made by many individuals. There was present for the old-timers every incentive for participating in the community and the reciprocity amongst them was high in that they purchased their food, clothing, and other items from one another, entertained one another, and acted very much as if all others were visitors. This was constantly summed up by the newcomers in the statement that, "Twenty years of residence does not make you a member of California Town despite the fact that the town is less than one hundred years old."

These old-timers were not accorded the same status and position when they went to other towns or cities, where usually they were treated about the same as visitors from any other place.

In discussing this matter with a cross section of members of the community it was found that there were categories of individuals who ranged from those who desired the non-participation of the members of the lateralizations in the community to those who did their utmost to bring about a functioning participation of all members.³ The latter recognized that the members of the lateralizations were being driven away from the locus community.

The members of the community, no matter what their lateral affiliation or historical background, liked the community and took every opportunity to participate when given welcome.

Pressures and Forces. Should we attempt a simple presentation of the Forces generated by the inhabitants of California Town we could say that:

(3) Cf. 10, in bibliography at end of article.

1. The discriminatory practices were *centrifugal* in their effect since they threw away from the community the participation of the Indian, and the welcome given to the Indian by the harvester and by other communities augmented that centrifugal force because it drew away from California Town the participation of the Indian. That is, there was present a *centripetal* force in the harvester lateralization and in the other communities regarding the Indian. When we add these two, the amount of *centrifugal* in their own community and the amount of *centripetal* in other communities, we arrive at a total participation of the Indian in his own community as being minimal.

2. At the other extreme of participation was the old-timer who was subjected to a high degree of *centripetal* force in his own community by the rewards which were present therein, but when he visited other communities he was subjected to a comparatively low amount of rewards. Thus he remained in California Town and was part of the controlling group. The combination of the *centripetal* in his own community and the *centrifugal* in outside communities resulted in his California Town participation being maximal.

The newcomer was faced with non-welcome participation in the community and at the same time he had open to him the various lateralizations with which he had been affiliated. The net result was low participation in the community affairs.

Thus the individual who was treated negatively in his community and so was subjected to the centrifugal, (being forced away from his community) and at the same time was treated positively by, for example, his ethnic group (and thus subjected to centripetal force by that ethnic group), fell into a low participation level in his community, while being an active member in his ethnic group.

On the other hand the individual who was treated positively and thus was drawn into community participation (centripetal) and at the same time was treated negatively by his ethnic (occupational, religious, national origin,) group (centrifugal) fell into a high participation level in his community while being relatively inactive as a member of his ethnic (occupational, religious, national origin) group.

When the lateralizations were examined it was found that the old-timer (as well as the other members in the community) was a member of one or more lateralizations and as such was subjected to the rewards, obligations, pressures, and disciplines of each of his affiliations. In short, each lateralization also contained the *centrifugal* and *centripetal* forces generated by the members.

All gradations of participation from one extreme to the other were present.

It would appear that California Town, as a community, would fly apart due to the combination of forces. There were, however, present the local government, community enterprises, schools, clubs, institutions, and associations of various kinds which constituted the *centripetal* force whereby the locus community functioned as an entity. This aspect of the community is sufficiently well known to need no further presentation.

Conclusions. In testing the hypothesis on additional communities and a variety of lateralizations⁴ it California Town is not exceptional. Space is not available to present cases where various organizations have impinged with almost disastrous results upon communities, where communities have been drained, subjugated, or ghost-towned by a lateralization moving away and leaving the community with extensive public works, or where the community was fragmented by two or more lateralizations fighting for control of that community. It is unnecessary for our purpose to present the details at this time. Furthermore, such cases are too well known to bear repetition. We are all familiar with the pressures some political philosophies (fascism and communism), religions, occupations, and other lateralizations impose upon their members.

The trend is toward lateralizations superseding communities in America as the "in-group". This pertains especially to those individuals who live in urban centers.

From the foregoing we might suggest that the American community should no longer be considered as an integrated population confined to a definite geographic locus with its members having a majority of like interests in common. Rather, with increasing rapidity the various lateralizations having membership beyond the local community and in the majority of cases being headquartered in distant places have much influence upon some portion of the local population. This tends to make of that portion a semi-distinct component of the population.

Recognition of the two groupings—the locus community and the lateralization—is important. Any plan for community development which does not include the problem of integrating into a functioning interrelationship these two types of participation is omitting one of the most important aspects of the American community.

(4) The hypothesis has been tested on a number of diverse communities reported by others as well as those investigated by the author. At The City College, under the supervision of the author, students and faculty have done research on more than four hundred lateralizations.

It therefore becomes essential that the community leaders recognize and open the door to the full participation of the members of the lateralizations, recognizing that those members have obligations and emotional ties outside of the community. On the other hand the leaders of lateralizations must recognize that they must take into consideration that the communities in which their members live and work also contain individuals who are members of those communities and of other lateralizations, and temper their demands for allegiance and participation.

The knowledge that the members of the community are also members of plural lateralizations must be utilized in the obtaining of the participation of members of as many lateralizations as is possible, not only as members of the community, but also as representative members of the lateralizations. It is therefore essential that lateralizations be made cognizant of the importance of their participation and the amount of their power and control in the community, and that they have obligations to the communities where their members live and work. In short, we need openly recognized representation of the lateralizations in the community so that a two-way communication may be established. The members of the local government must be cognizant of this and communicate the fact that both will be better off when the members of the lateralization are stimulated to participate as citizens of their community.

When the "way of life" of a community is controlled by a group which limits, negates, or discriminates, regarding the participation of the members of particular lateralizations, in effect they are accentuating the centrifugal force and throwing their members toward participation in lateralizations or other communities. On the other hand, when a community program includes the participation of all minorities, component populations, and lateralizations, it in effect increases the centripetal and draws the members closer to the community, thereby building toward a healthy community spirit.

The lateralizations are present and cannot be eliminated any more than can the community be eliminated. Therefore, a balance must be achieved and the two integrated. The self-governing of our population depends upon community living in towns, cities, counties, states, and nations. Therefore, when a choice is present, the community must be primary and the lateralization secondary. The community can continue without the lateralization, but the lateralization cannot continue without the community.

The vast majority of lateralizations are composed of adults. Therefore, any plan of community development which omits emphasis upon adult participation, which means adult education, is

neglecting the findings as well as developments during the past years.

Summary. The lateralizations, (regional, national, international, and other organizations) by their drives for membership, funds, interest, and by their systems of pressures, rewards, and punishments, delete from the locus communities the participation of individuals. The individual thus has that much less time, energy, and funds to devote to his own community. This matter is especially important because so often there is present in the community control by a strong minority who limit the participation of individuals due to occupation, color, religion, national origin, ethnic affiliation, and political conviction. This limiting of participation stimulates individuals to participate as members of their "own" grouping which is usually regional, national, or international in scope.

The majority of American communities have plural lateralizations impinging upon them, and since many of these lateral organizations are strong and powerful and have punishment and reward systems while the community has little to offer except full participation, which it seldom does offer, the net result is an increasing trend toward the fragmentation of the community.

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ABOUT THE PROCESSES OF COOPERATIVE COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT ACTIVITIES

**From a Research Project Sponsored by the
Institute of Adult Education
Teachers College, Columbia University**

About 500 case histories reporting on cooperative community improvement activities have been filed in the offices of the Institute of Adult Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. They have been written by lay people who participated in such activities; they serve as basic material for a research project to study the processes of such activities. The first 100 of these case histories have been picked out for this resume of the facts and events they describe.

The following thirty-four states are represented: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

Only one story comes from a metropolitan community of over 1,000,000 people; two from large urban communities of 100,000 to 1,000,000 people; and two, from urban communities of 50,000 to 100,000 people. Seventeen originated in small urban communities (15,000-50,000); twenty-seven are from towns (5,000-15,000); twenty-five from villages (1,000-5,000); and twenty-five from rural communities (up to 1,000).

The reporters mention as especially important for the understanding of their communities facts of this kind:

"90% of Czech descent—90% members of the Democratic party"

"Spanish descent"

"6,000 white and 3,000 colored"

"24% Latin extraction"

"Italians, Portuguese, Pilgrims"

"400 permanent; 2,000 summer"

"Retired Northerners—1,000 people in summer, 2,000 in winter"

"50% white"

"Majority Dutch"

"A high percentage are Mexicans".

It must be mentioned that eighty-nine of these 100 case histories were prepared as entries for a contest "Build Freedom with

Youth"*; six for an earlier contest "How to Build a Better Community"*; and only five stem from other sources. These contests offered substantial prizes (\$10,000-\$3,000 and \$2,000); in many, perhaps in the great majority of the cases, the chance to win money for the club and its activities was the motivation for initiating improvement activities. The writers of these reports explain also the great number of reports on activities originated by one or more than one women's club in the community. However, a few quotations will indicate other initiating forces:

From a village in Ohio:

"A 14-year-old youngster had gotten into trouble. He had no previous delinquency record and therefore no court action was taken against him. He went to one of his teachers and asked him for help in organizing the youth of the community, with a goal of getting a center for youth activities. This boy became a leader of the organized group and proved to be the greatest asset in the club's efforts until the goal was reached."

From a Wisconsin town of less than 15,000 people:

"A dentist mentioned in talks to many groups in the community the appalling condition of the teeth of most of the children of the town and suggested that the water supply be fluorinated."

From a Texas community of less than 5,000:

"The school board proposed to the community to work together on the development of a recreation park."

The following action goals are mentioned in the reports:

a.) Community:

- Cleaning campaign
- Creation of a Recreation Commission
- Swimming and picnic facilities on lake
- Intergroup relations
- Community Recreation Park
- Organization of a community council
- Organization or enrichment of library
- Adult education
- Forums
- General improvement
- Community survey
- Organization of Recreation Center
- Community hospital

*Both contests, in 1948 and 1950, were sponsored by the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

- Community meeting hall
- Volunteer fire fighting organization
- Negro welfare
- Encouragement to vote
- Settlement of migrant workers
- Improving sewer systems
- Public rest rooms
- Cemetery care
- Securing town doctor
- Organization of a community planning board
- Peacetime U.S.O.
- Hospital improvement campaign
- Park development
- Home for delinquent girls

b.) School:

- Citizens' committee to support the public schools
- Rebuilding school which was burned up
- Inter-school recreation programs
- Workshop for youth
- Citizenship education project
- To make P.T.A. more effective

c.) Youth:

- Playgrounds
- Youth center
- Roller skating rink
- Teen-age canteen
- Fall festival
- Youth council or club
- Youth employment service
- Youth conference
- Youth building
- Teen-youth-adult committee
- Teen town

Less than 10% of the communities with which these reports deal had had any previous experience in cooperative improvement activities. The success of a cooperative improvement program depends largely on the means applied to involve the community and the effectiveness of these means. In the 100 case histories analyzed for this resume, it was mainly the middle-to-higher income groups who participated. While often the goal of action is of special interest to the people of lower income, they are either not especially invited to become participants or they don't care to join the group.

Churches and Church groups are represented in 23% of the case histories. Civic and social clubs participated in all of them. School participation was through the board of education (10%), the superintendent of schools (7%), principals or teachers assigned (16%) the P.T.A. (23%) or students. Professional groups are represented in 28% of the reports. In 14% the local chamber of commerce plays an important role. In nineteen cases industry or local business joined in the process. Only three stories mentioned the participation of organized labor.

From pertinent quotations about community involvement, effective and ineffective means and special participants, should be inserted here before devoting a special section to youth as a participating factor in community life:

From a Florida community of less than 50,000 people:

"We (as reported by the President of a women's club) conceived the idea of a permanent youth council, to be composed of representatives from all of the civic organizations."

From a Virginia village:

"Immediately upon entering the contest, the women's club organized groups of adults known as youth councils." — And where was youth? This is action *for* not *with* the people concerned.

From a Pennsylvania community of less than 15,000 people:

"The gigantic project of remodelling and furnishing the theater building was attacked by the entire community. Actual materials were contributed by industry, labor unions, churches and youth center members. Labor donated 2,616 hours. Material donated had the value of more than \$5,000."

From a Florida rural community (less than 1,000 population):

"Block captains publicized the contest by calling at every home in the block to get the occupants' signatures or pledge to participate."

From a New York community of less than 15,000 people:

"The new principal knew people. He called a get-acquainted meeting of all parents. Some came, as he expected, only out of curiosity to get a look at the new principal."

From a Wisconsin community of less than 5,000:

"When the labor force began to lag, the individual farmers residing in the territory served by the school but not in the actual district were contacted. The response made the completion of the construction project possible."

From another Wisconsin community of the same size:

"The Chamber of Commerce took the lead and their officers acted as officers of the project."

—which means the opposite of community involvement.

From a Texas community of less than 15,000:

"Local contractors, plumbers, carpenters, truckers, etc., donated time and services in many ways, free of charge."

From a North Carolina village of less than 1,000:

"The club learned that the State Recreation Commission would send a representative to make a survey. A committee went to the management of the cotton mill and asked them to place a teacher as director of the survey on their payroll. The mill refused."

—Perhaps the mill should have followed the suggestion but unfortunately the request was not an invitation to participate but a demand to pay the bill.

From a New Jersey community of less than 50,000:

"An impartial survey by an outside expert had no action consequence. Not many people read his detailed report."

—Community work without community participation is often ineffective.

From a Michigan community of less than 5,000 people:

"The Town Clerk called a special election to decide whether the library was desired. The two weeks before the election, with all the discussion, were an educational experience for the community."

From an Alabama village:

"The club set up a council to centralize control of the undertaking."

—This kind of centralization is detrimental to community involvement, which otherwise could be a continuing process.

From a Wisconsin community of less than 15,000 people:

"The community became cognizant of the existence of the Texan-Mexican migrants in the community and of their many and complex problems. We discovered that the migrants were not being permitted by the caretaker to use the public facilities in the community park."

From a Pennsylvania community of less than 15,000:

"One of the important side resources of the club's participation in the affairs of the community was the election of a woman school director (school board member)."

A few reports described failures and changes of goal or leadership while the action was in progress. 63% indicate the continuing value

of cooperation. 42% report that the cooperation is continuing after the original goal has been reached.

The case material is especially rich in details about youth involvement and youth participation. The following quotations will tell the story.

From a Montana community of less than 15,000:

"Six years ago teenagers banded together to create entertainment for themselves. They formed an organization and called themselves 'The Harmony Hangout'. Year after year this group has called open meetings pleading for a building of their own. Always they met with defeat. Our club voted to enter the contest and to make our cooperation with the young people's group our project."

From an Arizona community of the same size:

"It seems there had been several youth projects of very short duration because the adult groups in this community have never learned to work together."

From a Wisconsin community of less than 15,000 people:

"What a wonderful idea—not to work so much for youth as with youth, letting youth in on the planning as well as on the carrying through, giving them a sense of responsibility for their community. This is the way it actually was carried out."

From an Iowa community of less than 50,000:

"Recognizing the initiative and proof of maturity of teenagers, the City Council invited youth to become ex-officio members of the various commissions and the Council itself."

From a Georgia community of less than 50,000:

"One of the topics discussed was the possibility of having youth attend the meetings of the various governmental boards. Later a letter was received from a health commissioner who advised us that the Board of Health was inviting teenagers to attend its meetings and voice their opinion."

From a California community of less than 50,000:

"The Student Board office of the High School did not want to wait any longer. They met with the Board of Education and presented their suggestions to remedy juvenile delinquency in cooperation with the adult community."

From a Virginia community of less than 100,000:

"We planned a youth rally, but the attendance of youth was bitterly disappointing — I suppose because they had had no part in the actual planning."

From a Georgia community of less than 50,000:

"The youth councils were selected by our club as the best means

for youth to express themselves."

And in similar fashion acted a committee of adults in a West Virginia community of less than 5,000 people:

"We organized a group of young people and called them the Bluejean Board of Youth."

Much better was the procedure in an Ohio community of less than 15,000:

"Into this committee were incorporated six school students, selected on the recommendation of the superintendent of schools."

While a Michigan community of less than 5,000 people had trust in the judgment of youth:

"We called in a group of young people chosen by the local youth themselves from grades 7 through 12, from the public as well as the parochial schools. In joint sessions the problems and desires of the group were discussed."

From an Arizona community of less than 5,000:

"We used teen girls to put out the coin cans and posters in all the stores for the March of Dimes drive."

—To use people is contradictory to the idea of cooperation.

From an Ohio community of less than 5,000:

"The general idea of a mock election was decided upon."

—A doubtful goal. Mock conventions, mock elections, mayor-for-the-day and activities of that kind are play — illusionary acts of cooperation without responsibility.

From two communities in Florida, one a town and one a small village:

"The young people voted unanimously to take as their project for the year aid to young Negroes, since their own facilities for recreation were adequate."

"They visited the Negro community. 'Gosh, we have everything. They have nothing. We would like to see a sound project done here and we will help.' We even arranged a meeting of Whites and Negroes together to decide upon needs of Negro children."

A Michigan community of less than 15,000 people got the idea:

"We attributed a large portion of the phenomenal success of the project to the participation of the teenagers themselves in the actual formation of plans and in the assistance in the execution of them."

How was the leadership problem solved? Only thirty-six communities reported on this question. In sixteen cases the leader was elected by the action of the group. In certain cases the leader was inherited from an earlier organization. Eleven leaders were appointed by one of the participating organizations.

Seventy-six activities were reported as being successful, ten as being partially successful. Eight were incomplete at the time of the reporting. Six projects disintegrated.

Forty-seven mention the use of consultants—twenty-six to help in the process of action, twenty-one in the area of the action goal. As sources for consultation national organizations of all kinds, local specialists, specializing state and federal agencies, school boards, libraries and university services are mentioned mainly.

Twenty-three reports cite opposition to the planned action program. Causes—personality clashes, vested interests, organizational jealousies, political pressure, minority group prejudices and others. In six cases the opposition brought about changes in the planning. In two cases changes in personalities. It seems that in most cases the opposition gave in or at least was not successful to the degree of hindering the cooperative process from functioning.

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